‘Read! Learn!’

Low, Gail

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‘Read! Learn!’: Grobalisation and (G)localisation in Caribbean Textbook Publishing

Gail Low, University of Dundee

In V. S. Naipaul’s semi-autobiographic novel, *A House for Mr Biswas* (1961), Trinidad in the first half of the twentieth century provides the backdrop to the life of Mohun Biswas and his family. [1] Late in the novel, the father-son relationship that is so integral to the novel’s detailing of family bonds and the central character’s story, begins to fray. It becomes clear that Mr Biswas’ emotional and financial investment in his young son, Anand, is in inverse proportion to his own perceived educational failures and familial setbacks. Mr Biswas’ desire to succeed is played out vicariously in Anand’s scholarship exams and what they represent to the family. The setting of *A House for Mr Biswas* is, of course, pre-independence Trinidad before the reforms that led to the creation of the Caribbean Examination Council in 1973. At the time, a punitively competitive system of exams marked the transitions between primary and secondary school, and secondary school and university. Success in scholarship exams (known as exhibitions) led to school and university fees being paid by the state; grants for school textbooks were also provided as part of these awards. This small number of scholarships (between two and four initially) enabled a small proportion of the island’s population to send their sons and daughters to college and university at a time when education proved prohibitively expensive to all but the island’s elite. Established in 1872, College Exhibition Examinations were, as Jerome De Lisle remarks, ‘high-stakes’: highly selective exams that constituted a ‘primary gateway’ for secondary education, progression into higher education, to be followed, in many cases, by a position in the colonial

administration[2]. University (or Island) scholarships were even harder to come by; typically only two or three were given out annually at the time of Naipaul's novel. As a means for social mobility these were, as Carl Campbell observes, 'dazzling prize[s] fiercely contested'.[3]

Towards the end of *A House for Mr Biswas*, Naipaul describes the 'frenzy' of cramming before 'the sacrificial day' of the College Exhibition exams.[4] In the novel's surreal portrayal, the 'readers and learners' of the Tulsi household and their boarders are flogged, tongue-lashed and made to sit at benches and tables to the cries of 'Read! Learn!'[5] The repository of his father's unfulfilled ambitions, Anand 'lived a life of pure work',[6] going from the school room and extra-curricular classes to supervised study sessions within the Tulsi household. All these scenarios of acute parental anxiety and pressure are rendered in the colours of a black comedy. After Anand's examination success, Naipaul details Mr Biswas' unsubtle involvement in his son's secondary school education, embarrassing his son by 'delighting' in all its rules and customs. A particularly telling example involves the ritual of visiting the Muir Marshall bookshop to obtain the list of free prescribed books, bringing them home to cover with protective paper jackets with Anand's name, form level and college to be inked on the front and back. Thereafter, the narrator observes that Mr Biswas' 'visions of the future became only visions of Anand's future'.[7]

Reading V S Naipaul's *A House for Mr Biswas* is to be reminded again of the entangled spheres of publishing, education, cultural capital and social mobility that characterised Trinidad in the 1940s but which also, despite reforms, persisted throughout the Anglophone Caribbean well past Independence. The world of A *House for Mr Biswas* is, of course, literally crammed full of printed texts: magazines, journals and, above all, books. Bookish references include citations of well-known and (now) more obscure writers of textbooks, self-help books, and literary classics. Charles Dickens, T S Eliot and W H Auden all make appearances, as do Samuel Smiles and Élie Halévy. British educational primers and

readers such as *Nelson's Royal Readers* and standard school textbooks on grammar and prosody such as J Nesfield's *Grammar*, David and Alexander Bell's *Standard Elocutionist* jostle with others written specifically for the 'local' market such as *Nelson's West Indian Readers* and *Blackie's Tropical Readers*; how-to manuals such as Cecil Hunt's *How to write a book* sit cheek by jowl with classics: Marcus Aurelius' *Meditations*, T S Eliot's *The Waste Land* and *The Complete Works of Shakespeare* published by Collins Clear Type Press.[8] This is a world that sees not only canonical English and European tomes in their diverse forms – original, abridged or truncated – embedded into local cultural consciousness, but also positioned against an older and nostalgically re-imagined forms of Hindu textuality represented by the *Ramayana*, Sanskrit verses and religious texts. In Mr Biswas' textual world, English texts are endowed with an educational mystique that signals modernity. In the novel's landscape of print, as Neil Ten Kortenaar has pointed out, literacy, books and the information gleaned from them become the yardstick by which the novel's hero self-esteem is measured.[9] As one set of texts morphs into another in Mr Biswas' reading and in his acquisition of books, the text registers an anxiety about the perceived failure to discriminate between what is valuable and what is not. Anand and, by extension Naipaul, takes this ideological lesson to heart: obtaining an education is to acquire the linguistic and cultural capital needed to move up the social ladder.

This essay is part of a wider attempt to examine the interface between educational and literary publishing, and the manner of their textual production and circulation. It takes its impetus from *A House for Mr Biswas*' fascination with books and learning, how texts circulate, what they signify, and the social and cultural work to which they are put; its representation of reading in the context of formal education and highly competitive examination processes; and the novel's recognition of the cultural capital and social mobility gained through reading and learning as formal, institutionalised practices. Comprising three

parts, the first section of the essay will situate twentieth century textbook publishing within an overview of British educational presses' penetration of markets abroad so as to tease out some recurring patterns; I shall make use of George Ritzer's theorisation of globalisation as incorporating both 'grobalisation' and 'glocalisation' to address some of the points raised in this section, and will discuss these processes. The second part addresses localisation as a floating signifier within what the global export of examinations, remarking on key moments in the history University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicates (UCLES); I attend to the diverse cultural work the term 'local' is made to do and the contradictions surrounding its use in the history of examining and textbook publishing in the Anglophone Caribbean. The third section addresses the emergence of the Caribbean Examinations Council, an attempt to redress the expanding neo-colonial educational examinations universe, providing initially an example of the (g)localisation of imported exams and then, latterly, the creation of an independent regionally specific examining authority. I also address the activities of metropolitan educational presses that flourished in these decades, their successes and profits an ironic outcome of the attempt to create a more locally relevant curriculum for Caribbean schools. While it may not be particularly contentious to propose that curricular reform provided fertile ground for metropolitan educational presses, it might be more controversial to suggest that overlapping interests between publishers and examining authorities led to the production of books written by Caribbean and non-Caribbean writers by British publishers for the local market. That this occurred in a period of heightened anti- and de-colonisation is merits particular focus and for these reasons I address the London-based publisher, Heinemann Educational Books', penetration of the Caribbean market to capitalise on the growth of the local schools market in the third section of the essay. A brief discussion of the Caribbean Writers Series, modelled on the successes of their African Writers Series, will make some of these issues clearer.

Grobalisation, (G)localisation and Textbook publishing

Improved technological and communicative (including transport) infrastructures from the nineteenth century onwards enabled British publishers to service and expand global markets for books, educational books especially. However, the postwar decades witnessed particularly concerted bursts of activity in educational publishing at home and abroad. With population growth after the Second World War, the raising of the compulsory school leaving age to fifteen in 1947 following the Butler Education Act of 1944 (and then sixteen in 1972), the creation new universities and higher education establishments following the 1963 Robbins report on higher education in the UK, educational publishing flourished at home. The postwar baby boom worked its way through education, and home student population would grow by 40% between 1960 and 1965. The Robbins report also predicted that the number of *both* home and overseas students would treble between 1960 and 1980, marking what it termed as 'the dawn of a new era' in formal learning.[10] In soon-to-be or newly independent colonies, examination boards would demand more local adaptations of existing materials and commission new textbooks for an entirely different educational curriculum. As these processes gathered pace in the postwar decades, the commercial potential of Empire's end in terms of textbook production, and English language teaching materials especially, became apparent. Alan Hill, the newly appointed director of a newly formed group within the Heinemann consortium of companies in 1961, Heinemann Educational Books, had argued two years earlier that the 'rapid development of education in the backward parts of the world' provided 'big' opportunities.[11] This is put more diplomatically in his memoirs: '[in] this new world of sweeping change great opportunities lay ahead for the enterprising publisher. New

social developments were generating new ideas, leading to a demand for new sorts of books in all subjects'.[12]

The global expansion of educational publishing processes sketched very briefly above can be understood within George Ritzer's theory of globalisation which emphasises contrary forces of 'grobalization' and 'glocalization'. Ritzer's neologism, 'grobalization' which combines both 'growth' and 'globalization', calls attention to the collective ambition and economic expansion of corporations across the globe.[13] A key part of this advancement involves the creation of goods and services untied to, and unfettered by, particular places or locales in any fundamental way; these items or services can easily adapted and sold to diverse local markets. Mass-market products sold globally (Coca-cola, McDonalds, Costa coffee), credit cards, banking or 'a franchise operation system' such as transnational supermarkets, food chains also fall within Ritzer's understanding of grobalisation's transnational traffic of goods and services. IMF fiscal rescue, which emphasizes a uniform economic approach, might also constitute an aspect of capitalist grobalisation.[14] Grobalization has particular affinities with '*non*-thing' or 'nothing', a term Ritzer adapts from Marc Augé's theorisation of transient spaces of economic and contractual obligation, emptied of social connections and social content that define place for communities and individuals[15] Ritzer defines his '*non*-thing' or 'nothing' along similar lines: 'a social form that is generally centrally conceived, controlled, and comparatively devoid of substantive content'.[16] 'Nothings' or 'non-things' are not intrinsically negative; they refer to mobile hollowed structures of mass production and consumption, of goods easily replicated and re-iterated. By contrast, 'something' refers to content-rich products that do not travel well due to their localised nature and appeal. Through processes of grobalisation something can become nothing, spawning further *non*things; local content-rich forms can be denuded so as to better proliferate content-light entities easily recreated or adapted for markets elsewhere: 'as content is reduced or eliminated, the form is

elaborated in ever-greater detail so that it can be re-created and used easily in diverse settings by many different people.'[17]

Following Ritzer's lead, we might view the proliferation of textbooks as objects that tend towards the 'nothing' end of the globalization continuum on account of their summary overviews and précis of information presented in easily digested chunks. Ritzer has himself identified the modern mass market textbooks as an 'empty form', a 'consumable that falls towards the *non*-thing end of the thing-*non*thing continuum'.[18] While Ritzer's examples of introductory textbooks' 'cookie cutter format' are more recent examples of commodification of learning, textbook grobalization occurs much earlier than is often acknowledged, for example, in the proliferation of Atlases, Grammars; Dictionaries; School Readers; abridged, excerpted and/or digested English literary texts and anthologies; European and English language textbooks from as far back as the mid-nineteenth century but increasing exponentially from the mid-20th century.[19] Keen to exploit the success of a particular approach, genre or method of study[20] across different audiences and locales, educational publishers have always been on the lookout for titles that travel well. Publishing successes might lead to a second tier of titles: teachers' manuals, question-and-answer books, wall charts and workbooks, all predicated on an original. Equally, adaptation of existing textbooks provided further lucrative avenues. When Roy Robertson, manager of Oxford University Press' operations in India wrote in 1958 to Colin Roberts, Secretary to the Delegates, about EJ James' *Topics in Mathematics*, he observed that the Press had 'for many years sought without success to add a book on the Teaching of Mathematics to... [their] Teaching in India Series'; Robertson estimated that James' textbook would be 'fairly easy to adapt to the purpose...'.[21] The adapted title for the Indian market appeared in English, Kannada, Malayalam and Tamil. Similar practices applied to geography and also to modern language teaching; witness Pamela Symonds' very successful *Let's Speak French* (1962) produced for

the English market, adapted for Canadian schools after consultations with officials in Quebec and Montreal, and which spawned a *Let's Speak Spanish* (1964).[22] In 1925 when James Oliver Cutteridge was commissioned to write and edit *Nelson's West Indian Readers*, he was sent a host of different School Readers and Primers for West Africa, India, Singapore, Philippines, Manitoba (Canada) as well as *Nelson's Royal Crown* and *Royal Prince Readers*, the implication being that producing new local material was partly a matter of slotting content into a template of sorts.[23] While I would not want to suggest that there was no new content or nothing local about Heinemann's new textbooks for the Caribbean, one can view these as different iterations of very similar books, or as part of a global genre of books. School textbook primers and readers have remained remarkable durable in formatting, allocation of content, and appearance despite various permutations for different geographical locales and regions.

In contrast to grobalisation, glocalisation speaks to the 'interpenetration of the local and the global, resulting in unique outcomes in different geographical areas'.[24] According to Ritzer, these terms are conceptually complementary. While grobalisation emphasises 'larger structures and forces' that result in an 'increasingly similar' world, glocalisation emphasises differences, hybridity and creolisation where individuals and groups are 'important social and creative agents'.[25] Ritzer concludes that it is 'far easier to grobalize nothing than something' and, correspondingly, 'far easier to glocalize something'[26], observing also that 'multidirectional flows' occur on the 'continuum from something to nothing' and users may transform nothing into an object of distinction ('something').[27] This is certainly the case in relation to Naipaul's Mr Biswas who actively cannibalises and rewrites as he reads. Samuel Smiles' Victorian self-improvement and social advancement guide, *Self Help,* is transformed by Mr Biswas into a 'romantic and satisfying' novel and the character saw 'himself in many Samuel Smiles heroes: he was young, he was poor, and he fancied he was struggling';

invariably Mr Biswas 'without difficulty' 'transferred characters and settings' from his reading 'to people and places he knew'.[28] Thus despite the deep seated despair surrounding the character's perceived failure as a writer, his small, casual, violating encounters with books are acts of creative glocalisation as Mr Biswas makes texts his own. In her important investigation into reading in India, Priya Joshi reminds us that reading can be an active way of 'indigenizing' through 'recontextualizing or translating the alien', and in some cases writing back by 'using ideological imports to talk back to colonial authorities'.[29] Other Anglophone Caribbean writers have also satirised and ironised the school room and the school textbook, for example, Jamaica Kincaid, George Laming, Erna Brodber and The Mighty Sparrow.[30] In these ways, reading and re-writing are examples of glocalising processes.

Grobalisation and Examining the world

Amongst the most valuable and important goals for textbook publishers in the postwar period was to obtain prescriptions from educational authorities, thereby guaranteeing high volume sales. Many cultivated educationalists lobbied educational boards, particularly those which operated within a legacy of dependence on examining bodies overseen by, for example, Cambridge, Oxford and London Matriculation examining syndicates. Of these, the most influential and widespread was the University of Cambridge Local Examination Syndicates (UCLES). Formed in 1858, UCLES staged its first exams in Britain outside of Cambridge in the same year. It is important to remember that 'local' in the nomenclature of UCLES referred to the fact that these public examinations need not be sat in Cambridge but were available to be taken 'locally'. The practice of using 'local' examination centres in Britain supervised by visiting examiners quickly extended overseas, starting in Trinidad in

1864 after the island successfully petitioned the university for on-site examinations. The Cambridge exams spread to the colonies. Trinidad's example was followed by South Africa (1869) with applications made by Mauritius, New Zealand and Guyana in the 1870s to form local centres, all of which were approved by the close of the decade; locals were held in Jamaica in 1882.[31] Locally and across the globe, many of UCLES' examinations were executed in this way, with high achievers rewarded with scholarships at British universities and often roles with the colonial administration later.

Andrew Watts records that the first significant step by UCLES towards a more international curriculum lay in the field of languages; Arabic, Chinese, Tamil and Sinhalese were added to the range of subjects offered after 1910.[32] UCLES was initially resistant to adopting regionally relevant subjects, however following a 1929 governmental committee advising on 'external examinations adapted in syllabus to local conditions, and employing as often as possible local examiners', it set up a joint committee of British governmental representatives and overseas colonial educational officials to explore that possibility.[33] Nigeria and Malaya were among the first countries to trial changes which involved locally devised examinations and local marking overseen by British officials. In 1964, the West African Examinations Council became the first institution abroad 'to complete its "localisation" programme' and manage its own examinations.[34] Examination boards provided a centralised national or regional hub to coordinate educational processes, which in turn allowed metropolitan presses to direct and concentrate their activities. With new curricula new textbooks would be needed; the decade of the sixties thus became an extremely profitable period for British educational presses which targeted Nigeria, especially, as a growth area for their business. For example, Hill argued for Heinemann Educational Books' engagement with West Africa as representing the 'largest and most accessible hitherto-untapped market' for the company in the late fifties and early sixties; their African Writers

Series, launched in 1962, enabled the British firm to take on more local colours even as it provided a respectable literary outlet for African writing.[35]

In relation to the Caribbean, the historian Anne Spry Rush notes that schools in Jamaica had started introducing more local material in state primary schools in the 1930s, and by the end of the decade textbooks included Caribbean Readers, West Indian Geographies and West Indian Histories.[36] Yet while the sections on geography contain local flora and fauna, textbooks still reflected an imperial outlook. As my earlier research uncovers, *Nelson's West Indian Readers*, a series ostensibly tailored for the Caribbean school market from 1926 to 1929 but used in its unrevised form well into the 1960s, 'did not live up to their stated mission of localisation', recasting as they did Caribbean history as narratives of European imperial rivalries or 'stories of heroic "discoveries" and conquests by Europeans such as Columbus, Walter Raleigh, John Hawkins, Francis Drake or John Benbow'.[37] Except for the West African folk tales featured in lower level Readers, all literary references derived from canonical English texts. Furthermore, the story of sugar in the Caribbean is represented simply in terms of its agricultural and manufacturing practices, with virtually no reference to plantation slavery or indentured labour. Slave labour is mentioned but is presented as akin to 'any other kind of labour and offered as one index of the economic success of English rule in Jamaica after Spanish "mismanagement"'. Thus the 'prosperity of the islands' represented as the 'organic development' of the land.[38] That the history of slavery on the islands is all but erased in these school books evokes the doubts about slavery's existence in Barbados expressed by schoolboys in Lamming's *In the Castle of My Skin*: 'They laughed quietly. Imagine any man in any part of the world owning a man or a woman from Barbados. They would forget all about it since it happened too long ago. Moreover, they weren't told anything about that... It was too far back for anyone to worry about teaching it as history.'[39]

Significantly, Rush observes that state primary schools that directed students toward vocational qualifications were among the first to put on local exams with more Caribbean content.[40] More academically able students, on the other hand, were streamed toward secondary schools where the curriculum replicated the British school syllabus. Such conservatism was for a long time, as Patrick E Bryan notes, approved by elite and upwardly mobile families because the educational 'yardstick... remained fundamentally British'; [41] much like 'G' in *In the Castle of My Skin*, Anand's academic excellence would alienate him from his immediate family and village, creating a yawning cultural and socio-economic divide that would later need bridging.

(G)localisation, Examining and Textbooks in the Anglophone Caribbean

Suprisingly, the grobalization of UCLES examinations and the textbook infrastructures it supported gave rise to the glocalisation of the Caribbean school curriculum. Educational reform to localise the content of the curriculum came as a result of decolonisation in the postwar decades. Bryan records that by the 1950s, students could 'sit Caribbean History, Caribbean Geography, and Agricultural Science for the Cambridge School Certificate'.[42] Critiques of the Anglophilic orientation of Caribbean high schools also became more vociferous with the election of the premiers of Independent Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago Norman Manley and Eric Williams. Both argued for a break with Cambridge which they represented as central to an outmoded colonial regime; Williams complained about the pernicious, 'prevailing English influence' in schools whose curricula were virtually 'indistinguishable from an English public school'. [43] To add complexity to the debate, here the 'local' also took on class connotations, associated with the move towards

vocational and technical education, which Williams claimed were cast as second class to Cambridge-mediated middle class book learning.

The formation of the Caribbean Examinations Council in 1973 played an important role in the push towards the localisation – or the Caribbeanisation – of the syllabus. There was, of course, a precedent. Prior pressure to UCLES had already resulted in Cambridge making some changes to its overseas exams, including an examination paper on Caribbean history and a literature paper without set texts, and where Caribbean texts could thus be employed. The early involvement of University of the West Indies was crucial to the formation of the Caribbean Examinations Council (CXC), providing reassurance about standards but fostering greater understanding, partnership and integration in education across the different levels. John Figueroa who headed the Department of Education at UWI called for an examination system and policy that was not left to outsiders. His report on the 1961 Conference of the Association of Caribbean Headmasters and Headmistresses suggested curriculum reform that embedded local knowledge and learning: children should be educated as 'future citizen[s] of the Caribbean'; in addition to literacy and numeracy skills, they should 'become familiar with their heritage', including 'greater study of West Indian Literature'.[44] The involvement of university academics also led to the writing of now well-known history and geography text books by Philip Sherlock, J.H. Parry, Roy Augier, Douglas Hall, Shirley Gordon, Anthony Phillips and Kamau Brathwaite.[45] A spate of rival school literature anthologies such as Kenneth Ramchand's *West Indian Narrative: An Introductory Anthology*, GR Coulthard's *Caribbean Literature*, O R Dathorne's *Caribbean Narrative: An Anthology*, Andrew Salkey's *Caribbean Prose*, John Figueroa's *Caribbean Voices* and Anne Walmsey's *The Sun's Eye: West Indian Writing for Young Readers* appeared in quick succession.[46]

Fuelled by expansions in primary education, the demand for secondary school places also expanded dramatically. Spry Rush notes that the secondary student population

quadrupled in many of the islands by 1960;[47] high school enrolments in Trinidad showed a 28 percent increase in 1959 when compared with 1946, with an even higher 44 percent in Jamaica.[48] The array of new schools across the islands, education reforms and the movement towards a pan-Caribbean regulatory body for examinations made the islands far more attractive for metropolitan publishers than had previously been the case. In moving to a single regional examination body, publishers could conceive of the Anglophone Caribbean market for textbooks as one larger entity, albeit patterns of distribution and sales varied from island to island. In his 1967 review of literature anthologies Mervyn Morris observed, '[n]ow that West Indian schools are beginning to examine West Indian writing, cheap anthologies directed primarily at schools (but always, also, directed at "the general reader") are beginning to appear'.[49] Morris' remarks call attention not only to the low pricing of these books but also to their mushrooming: all six foundational literature anthologies listed appeared within a year of each other.

British educational publishers were beginning wake up to the sales potential of the Anglophone Caribbean market. In a recently recorded interview for the oral history project 'British Book Trade Lives', Tim Rix of Longmans described how he met with authors, booksellers and commissioned a new geography textbook during in his six week tour of the Caribbean in 1960. In the same interview series, Anne Walmsley, appointed in 1966 to grow a specific Caribbean list puts the causes for the increased presence of Longmans and other publishers in the Caribbean squarely at the door of the postwar and post-independence educational reform.[50] Given her previous teaching experience in Jamaica between 1959 and 1963, and her previous experience at Faber and Faber and the BBC, Walmsley was offered the role of Longman's first commissioning editor for the Caribbean and tasked with building up a full range of, primarily, Caribbean school books, including mathematics, geography, history, language teaching, atlases, and also textbooks in European languages. She travelled

throughout the region, visiting schools to publicise the new textbooks, persuading teachers to adopt them, and obtaining feedback on their usefulness. Walmsley's 'British Book Trade Lives' interview also attests to the changes in educational practices in Jamaica from a British-based curriculum to one that was more willing to take risks with local material. Dissatisfied with the especially English nature of the literary curriculum when she worked as a teacher in Jamaica, Walmsley had begun to introduce contemporary Caribbean stories and poems, published in London, in the schools and the reading clubs she convened. *The Sun's Eye* anthology, published by Longmans in 1968, was a result of her success in deploying local literary material. However, the story behind its emergence into print is also instructive. Walmsley made the initial proposal to Longmans when a teacher in Jamaica; however, she was informed that such an anthology would not be possible; the use of Trinidadian patios in Samuel Selvon's short story, 'The Village Washer' was deemed unsuitable because the 'Jamaican Ministry of Education was against texts containing "dialect"'.[51] Yet the same Longmans overseas editor, Michael Wymer, invited her to resubmit her previously rejected proposal in 1965, observing that with the changes afoot in the Caribbean, it would be precisely the kind of textbook for which Longman were looking.

Walmsley's appointment was matched by other educational publishing firms, for example, Nelsons, Collins and Macmillan, which had all appointed Caribbean specialists and editors to develop their lists in the 1960s. Longmans made important inroads by reissuing classics in the Caribbean canon published in the fifties, republishing George Lamming's much sought and pursued *In the Castle of My Skin* (1970) and Samuel Selvon's *A Brighter Sun* (1971) and *The Lonely Londoners* (1972). These were, as Walmsley remarks, '[m]inimal risks and editorial overheads, with continuing rights to republish – to Longman's benefit and not, I suspect, to the appropriate cumulative benefit of the author.'[52] Later, Longman would publish new original titles such as Lamming's *Water with Berries* (1973) and *Natives of My*

Person (1972), and Roy Heath's *A Man Come Home* (1974). The first title in the Longman's Drumbeat Series, a cross-market educational series of fiction, poetry and drama for Africa and the Caribbean appeared in 1979.

Heinemann Educational Books and the gestation of the Caribbean Writers Series

Heinemann Educational Books (HEB) sought to replicate the success of its African Writers Series (AWS) educational paperbacks with the creation of the Caribbean Writers Series (CWS) in 1970. The AWS was launched in 1962, issuing forty titles in the first five years and over two hundred in its first twenty years of publishing; many now very well-known writers of the African literary canon such as Chinua Achebe, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, Gabriel Okara, Bessie Head, Buchi Emecheta, Wole Soyinka, Dennis Brutus, Ousmane Sembene and Ayi Kwei Armah all appeared in the series. It was a phenomenal pedagogical and sales success in West Africa and beyond, and had a huge impact on the literary curriculum of African schools during decolonization and independence. As titles became more widely available in Britain and in the United States in the late sixties, AWS was also to find the growing niche market in the teaching of British Commonwealth writing and Third World studies across British and American higher educational institutions.[53] However a number of important contextual factors differentiate the Caribbean and African Writers Series. First, the density and numbers of the reading and school population in West and East Africa made the CWS a much less lucrative venture from an educational sales perspective. Second, the spread-out archipelagic nature of the Caribbean made the book trade in the region 'expensive to cover as a whole'.[54] Traditional inter-island rivalries also made consideration of the region as a single – or even single language group – book market sometimes problematic; politic trade-offs and delicate balancing was required to keep the islands' constituencies happy. Such problems are

reflected in the smaller print runs of CWS titles when compared with AWS titles (5,000 in contrast with AWS' 10,000 normal initial print runs of new titles). Though the numbers were not especially promising, Heinemann's decision to put its resources into growing the Anglophone Caribbean market was motivated by a view of decolonisation as a commercial potential; HEB was already doing well with their 'best-selling' *Integrated Science for Caribbean Schools*.[55] With talks for a pan-Caribbean examination council ongoing, more funding available for education, significantly more secondary schools being established, and a long list of literary publications to choose from as low-risk reprint titles, this would be a market worth investing in: a 'potentially rewarding area'[56] for the company. As with AWS titles in the 1970s, CWS titles could also sell to British and North American secondary schools; in the higher education market, the pedagogic umbrella of British Commonwealth Literature which included African and Caribbean writing was gaining traction.[57]

It is worth pausing over Heinemann's entry into publishing Caribbean material and the Caribbean market. Several important moments in the HEB archive bear witness to these developments: in particular, the commissioning of OR Dathorne's *Caribbean Narrative* and Keith Sambrook's 1967 tour of the Caribbean tells us much about the new mood of the time and CWS' gestation. HEB's first foray into publishing a school literature anthology in the Anglophone Caribbean came soon after it had commissioned the South African Richard Rive's anthology, *Modern African Prose (*1964) for the African Writers Series.[58] HEB's Overseas director Keith Sambrook sent Rive's title to the Jamaican writer and teacher John Hearne to ask if he would consider putting together such a publication for HEB, having consulted John Macpherson in the Ministry of Education in Kingston about the feasibility of a prose anthology for school use. *Caribbean Narrative* finally emerged in print in 1966, compiled and edited by the Guyanese-born academic, O R Dathorne, with a general

introduction and questions for study. Dathorne's companion poetry anthology *Caribbean Verse* appeared the following year.

In 1967 Sambrook was asked to undertake a tour of the Caribbean islands to assess the potential of the Anglophone market there, and to investigate Collins' representation of HEB in the region.[59] Sambrook was asked to explore republishing Caribbean literature in a schools imprint, an idea that the Jamaican poet, and UWI academic John Figueroa had proposed in 1965; he was also tasked with finding out if more could be done to promote the New Windmill Series, a series of cheap literary texts published for school reading in the UK, with minimal editorial additions and embellishments. Was there 'a basic universal list of texts, plays, etc., which every English speaking school in the world must have[?]' he mused. HEB cautioned Sambrook to 'go slow' on commissioning University and general trade books as the market was 'small'.[60] On this trip, Sambrook promoted *Caribbean Verse*, and reported to HEB director Alan Hill that the title had been prescribed for the Jamaican School Certificate for three years, mostly through the good offices of the influential Kingston bookshop Sangster, which Sambrook credited with the power to 'make or break subscriptions'. [61] Sambrook also noted how Island allegiances spilled over into preferences for specific anthologisers and editors.

Sambrook also met Figueroa in Jamaica to firm up plans for a proposed Caribbean Writers Series. It is interesting to note that the Series idea originated with Figueroa, who was encouraged by HEB put together a 'publishing plan, giving proposed titles and editors'. [62] In the early correspondence over CWS, it is clear that Figueroa had conceived of Lamming's 1953 bildungsroman *In the Castle of My Skin* and John Hearne's 1955 debut novel *Voices Under the Window* as vital to the Series, and had planned to also include contemporary writers such as Michael Antony, V. S. Naipaul and Edgar Mittelholzer. Older writers such as H.D. DeLisser, Claude McKay and Vic Reid would supplement these younger writers in

order to give the Series historical depth in Caribbean letters. Sambrook reported back to HEB on his talks with Figueroa during his 1967 tour, linking the Series to the current expansion in education, as well as corresponding developments in the UK and the US, which he saw as significant supplementary markets. The Series was to envisaged as an 'A Level and University series' aimed at

> students in the West Indies, North America (particularly Canada) and Britain. Certain titles might also become prescribed reading at 'A' level in the West Indies once the WIEC [West Indian Examination Council] gets fully under way and replaces Cambridge as the examining body. There is certainly a great interest in West Indian writers here amongst the University and Ministry people. This is not generally reflected amongst the rank and file of secondary school teachers, though there are some who are enlightened enough to want to introduce some West Indian writing. With the setting up of the new department of West Indian studies at Canterbury (Ramchand and Louis James) and the interest in Sussex, Leeds, East Anglia and Colchester plus the expected growth of interest in Canadian and United States colleges and universities, the series should have a reasonable market for first editions of about 5,000 copies.[63]

Unlike the AWS which was initially conceived primarily for the African schools market, CWS was also envisaged as a cross-over education and general series for a wider market outside the Caribbean, signalled by the fact that the proposed titles would be prefaced not only by critical introductions but accompanied by a glossary to explain local terms and 'references to students... not West Indian'. [64] Figueroa would be Series editor, a role Chinua Achebe fulfilled for AWS, and Sambrook described him as 'instrumental in establishing

academic interest in local literature', 'extremely knowledgeable and committed to West Indian writing and has no major personal axe to grind.'[65] Sambrook's return visit to Jamaica as part of the tour seemed to steel his resolve. In this later correspondence with Hill, Sambrook stressed the difficulty of pitching the series to the Caribbean schools market and re-iterated his point that limiting the series to schools would be unnecessarily restrictive. He stressed that it was the combination of all three markets – Caribbean, British and North American – and new educational developments in all three areas that would make the series viable for the company. Such an estimation was based explicitly on the *language* and *content* of the books proposed for the series which might be seen by both more conservative parents and educational authorities, particularly in the Caribbean, to be unsuitable for, especially, younger folk:

> We all considered that the series should be aimed first and foremost at university students in Britain, North America and the Caribbean. There is an existing market at this level in all three areas – and a small overspill elsewhere. A good deal of West Indian literature is unsuitable for use in schools (below 'A' Level at any rate) either on account of language or content. However there are books which would be suitable for 'O' Level or its equivalent if the examination boards could be persuaded to consider them. But to produce a series specially for this level would be highly restrictive and would be unable to contain some of the best examples of Caribbean literature. The advantage of aiming the series at the existing University market is that the selection of titles can be based on literary merit. Some titles thus included will be suitable for 'O' level prescription and once available in a cheap educational edition will be eligible for prescription. As there are now strong moves in hand to make sure

> some West Indian writing is prescribed by 1970 at 'O' Level, now is the time to get the series announced and moving. [66]

Sambrook also noted that both UCLES and WIEC (West Indian Examination Council, or what would be the Caribbean Examinations Council) were moving in the direction of more local material, the former had recently included a West Indian novel as an option in Section C of the 'O' Level paper, and the latter was deemed likely to place 'more emphasis… on one West Indian writer being included amongst the modern literature section' and 'West Indian poetry being included as an option in Section B'. [67] The proposal for the CWS at that stage was to publish six titles (all novels) in 1968 with a print run of between 3-6,000 copies: John Hearne's *Voice* (1955), Mittelholzer's *Corentyne Thunder* (1941), Naipaul's *Mystic Masseur* (1957) and *Miguel Street* (1959), Lamming's *In the Castle of My Skin* (1953) and Anthony's *A Year in San Fernando* (1965) with the latter three 'all suitable for secondary schools'. [68] Ultimately both Hearne and Lamming were not included in CWS; *In the Castle of My Skin* appeared instead as a Longman Caribbean title, despite the Series actively courting Lamming,[69] while Faber and Faber did not release their paperback rights to Hearne's debut novel. The gestation of the Series was also rendered trickier by rivalries between academics, miscommunications and misunderstandings, and Figueroa's own ill health.[70]

The general CWS guidelines issued to academics undertaking introductions spelled out that the Series was to be 'fully representative [of the region] as possible' ; 'a general series aimed at providing examples of the best and most important novels, plays and poetry' in contemporary Caribbean writing but also titles of historical importance. [71] Introductions should always offer 'fresh critical insights' useful for 'University teaching', and should bear in mind 'the possibility that the book will be used in schools'. Though the CWS was to have general appeal, educational markets were the highest priority. Yet, despite the declared aim

be a general series, the list of possible markets was not very little different from its earlier conceptions, albeit with the addition of African universities and colleges. The market is, perhaps, spelt out a little more explicitly in the guidelines:

(a) Class and library books for schools in the Caribbean;
(b) Universities and colleges in the Caribbean;
(c) Literature courses of universities in Africa
(d) Library books for schools in Africa
(e) Commonwealth literature courses in UK and other commonwealth universities;
(f) Schools in UK with large immigrant population especially from the West Indies
(g) In some cases we may also have rights to sell in US where it would be used in schools and colleges and Universities.[72]

To return to my original preoccupations with Ritzer's theorisations of the global, the CWS of books written by Caribbean writers *in situ* or in exile in London is an important part of HEB's grobalising advancement on the postcolonial world. Yet the content of these textbooks are clearly not the *non*-thing of Ritzer's conception; instead, they are, to use Ritzer's formulations 'comparatively rich in distinctive substantive content'.[73] The literary works themselves are distinctive, rather than content-less objects of value – on the 'something' rather than 'nothing' end of Ritzer's continuum. While grobalisation processes might have elective affinities with nothing, the grobalisation of something is possible in the uniform packaging and repackaging of content-rich material for different educational markets as was the case with the Caribbean Writers Series[74]

Of the first 15 titles published in the CWS imprint, all were novels. CWS titles were mostly fiction and short stories; poetry appears in anthologies, the sole single-authored

volume in the series is Derek Walcott's *Selected Poetry* (1981)[75]. Early in the life of the series, those introducing the reissued works were largely Caribbean male academics such as Kenneth Ramchand, Mervyn Morris, Kamau Brathwaite, Gordon Rolehr, O R Dathorne and John Figueroa himself, with notable British academics such as Paul Edwards, Louis James and Gareth Griffiths as well as the East African poet and academic at Makerere University, Laban Erapu, the latter writing the introduction to *Miguel Street*. The sales figures for Anthony's *A Year in San Fernando* within the first three years of publication were very good (17,644 books of the paper cased edition sold and 41,957 of the limp paper bound copy sold). Sales of Mittleholzer's *Corentyne Thunder* (7,207 copies) and Naipaul's *Mystic Masseur* (2,865 copies) within 2-3 years of its CWS publication were, by comparison, comparatively low. Indeed, Anthony's first CWS novel was successfully prescribed in schools and his sales figures are, in large part, due to his school sales.[76] But such early sales do not give the full measure of the books' potential as school reading, nor the increasingly important role of the pan-Caribbean examinations body: by 1979, a Heinemann memo declared that the Caribbean Examinations Council's new English syllabus listed almost every CWS title.[77] That this became the case for CWS speaks to the clear home for these content-rich texts within the region's cultural history.

Coda

In putting together such an account of textbook publishing and examining situated within and framed by a theory of globalisation, we can clearly see the relevance of Ritzer's conceptual framework – grobalisation and glocalisation, something and nothing – to an understanding of the industry that surrounds the business of education. The

internationalisation of examinations and the textbook publishing such as is the case for UCLES describes a grobally expansive process which includes a programme of 'localisation'. Today, UCLES uses the 'brand name' Cambridge Assessment, and are 'the world's largest provider of international education programmes and qualifications for 5 to 19 year olds' with more than 8 million candidates in 160 countries.[78] Cambridge Assessment also conducts 'globally recognised' international English Language exams which, according to its website, are 'accepted by over 20,000 universities, employers and governments around the world', opening doors to higher education and employment opportunities.[79]

Literature teaching and anthologising, publication in full text, abridged or truncated forms across educational books or series are important but little researched areas of global literary and publishing history.[80] In Asa Briggs' history of Longmans, he remarks that English Language Teaching (ELT) books, stands out as the 'great link between the pre and post-war Longman history' and provided the 'powerhouse division' of the company in the 1960s especially. There are significant interfaces between literature and language teaching, textbooks and publishing. In a recent essay, I have suggested that literary texts ought not to be separated from the educational contexts of their consumption and use; indeed, there is more than meets the eye about the overlapping interests of the British Council and university English departments both in the UK and in the Commonwealth in the promotion of Commonwealth Literature in the mid-sixties.[81] From this account of examinations and textbooks, a host of other questions suggest themselves for further study: given the distinction and functional separation of different types of publishing and publishing houses, where exactly do the interfaces between educational and literary (trade) publishing occur, and why; given that literacy and literacy training are important aspects of educational use and textbook publishing, how do these goals interface specifically with literary publishing (how is literature used in language teaching); and finally, how do the publication, dissemination and

consumption of texts for these different fields interconnect, if indeed they do. As we can see here, reading often takes place in the context of learning and under conditions of examination. Much more is needed to locate the ways in which literary texts circulate within global textbook publishing, and to situate post-war, post-independent postcolonial educational histories within the 'overlapping territories and intertwined histories'[82] of local and global educational curricular deployment.

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[1] V S Naipaul, *A House for Mr Biswas* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1984). All references will be to this edition of the text.

[2] Jerome De Lisle 'Secondary School Entrance Examinations in the Caribbean: Legacy, Policy and Evidence within an era of Seamless Education', *Caribbean Curriculum* 19 (2012), pp.114-115.

[3] Carl C Campbell, *The Young Colonials: A Social History of Education in Trinidad and Tobago 1834-1939* (Kingston, Jamaica: The Press University of the West Indies, 1996), p.175. Elsewhere Campbell notes that between 1956 and 1961 scholarships for University study overseas expanded to 56 in Trinidad and Tobago. SeeCampbell *Endless Education: Main Currents in the Education System of Trinidad and Tobago 1939-1986* (Kingston, Jamica: The Press University of the West Indies, 1997)p.101.

[4] Naipaul, *A House for Mr Biswas*, p.471.

[5] Ibid., p.437.

[6] Ibid., p.463.

[7] Ibid., p.494.

[8] John Nesfield,*Manual of English Grammar and Composition* (London: Macmillan, 1908); David Bell and Alexander Bell, *Bell's Standard Elocutionist* (London: William Mullan and Son, 1878); Joseph Oliver Cutteridge, *Nelson's West Indian Readers,* 6 volumes (London, Edinburgh and New York, 1926-29)*; Blackie's Tropical Readers*, 4 volumes (London and Glasgow, Blackie and Son, 1897-1911); Cecil Hunt, *How to write a book* (London and Glasgow: Blackie and Son, 1939); William Shakespeare, *The Complete Works of Shakespeare,* Introduced by St John Ervine (London and Glasgow: Collins Clear Type Press, 1923).

[9] Neil ten Kortenaar, *Postcolonial Literature and the Impact of Literacy: Reading and Writing in African and Caribbean Fiction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p.7

[10] Quoted in David McKitterick, *A History of Cambridge University Press, Volume 3: New Worlds for Learning 1873-1972* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 378.

[11] Alan Hill, 'Company Memo: William Heinemann Limited Educational Department', HEB Box 11 Reports 1959. University of Reading Special Collections. Unless indicated otherwise, all Heinemann Educational Books archival materials are taken from the University of Reading Special Collections.

[12] Alan Hill, *In Pursuit of Publishing* (London: John Murray, 1988), p.72.

[13] George Ritzer *Globalization: A Basic Text* (Malden,MA; Oxford and Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), p.267.

[14] George Ritzer, *The Globalization of Nothing 2* (Thousand Oaks, California: Pine Forge Press, 2007), pp. 23, 19.

[15] Marc Augé,*Non-places*translated by John Howe, Second edition(London and New York: Verso, 2009).

[16] Ritzer, *The Globalization of Nothing 2*, p. 74.

[17] Ibid., p. 99.

[18] Ibid., pp.181, 183.

[19] See Rimi B Chatterjee, *Empires of the Mind: A History of the Oxford University Press in Indian under the Raj* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006) chapter 12; Priya Joshi, *In Another Country* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002); Asa Briggs,*A History of Longmans and their books 1724-1990* (London and New Castle, Delaware: The British Library and Oak Knoll Press, 2008) chapter 7; APR Howatt and HG Widdowson, *A History of English Language Teaching*, second edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Caroline Davis, 'Creating a Book Empire: Longmans in Africa' in Caroline Davis and David Johnson eds, *The Book in Africa* (Houndsmill: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), pp. 128-152.

[20] The proliferation of English Language teaching textbooks using, for example, Dr Michael West's 'New Method' (and rival publications) is a good example of this; see G C Darton, 'The "New Method" of Teaching English', *African Studies* 4:1 (1945), pp.41-44.

[21] Quoted in Robert Fraser, 'Educational Books' in Wm. Roger Louis ed. *The History of Oxford University Press, Volume III: 1896-1970* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 455.

[22] Fraser, 'Educational Books', pp. 456-8.

[23] Gail Low 'An Educational Empire of Print: Thomas Nelson and the *West Indian Readers*', in Carla Sassi and Theo Van Heijnsbergen eds, *Within Without Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), pp.108-22.

[24] Ritzer, *Globalization*, p.255.

[25] Ritzer, *The Globalization of Nothing 2*, p. 21.

[26] Ibid., p. 197.

[27] See George Ritzer, Jeffrey Stepnisky and Jon Lemich, 'The Magical World of Consumption: Transforming Nothing into Something', *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*, 49 (2005), pp.117-136.

[28] Naipaul, *A House for Mr Biswas*, pp.78, 471

[29] Joshi, *In Another Country*, p.26.

[30] Jamaica Kincaid, *Annie John* (London: Vintage, 1997); George Lamming, *In the Castle of My Skin* (London: Michael Joseph, 1953); Erna Brodber, *Myal* (London: New Beacon, 1988); The Mighty Sparrow, 'Dan is the Man' in Alison Donnell and Sarah Lawson Welsh (eds), *The Routledge Reader in Caribbean Literature* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996).

[31] Andrew Watts, 'Cambridge Local Examinations 1858-1945' in Sandra Raban ed. *Examining the World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 45. Much of this brief historical overview of Cambridge Local Examinations was obtained from Watts, John Sadler, 'University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate' in M Bray and L Steward, ed., *Examinations in Small States* (London: Commonwealth Secretariat, 1998), pp.198-206; and AJ Stockwell, 'Examinations and Empire' in JA Mangan ed., *Making Imperial Mentalities* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1990), pp.213-20.

[32] Watts, 'Cambridge Local Examinations 1858-1945', p. 57.

[33] Watts, 'Cambridge Local Examinations 1858-1945', p. 62.

[34] Cambridge Assessment, *150 Anniversary exhibition: Enriching the Education of Individuals around the World*, http://www.cambridgeassessment.org.uk/images/126044-150th-anniversary-archive-exhibition.pdf.

[35] Hill writes that with the AWS, HEB were seen by the local population as not only the provider of textbooks but also the publisher of `leading Nigerian creative writers'; thus the

company had a ‘double-barrelled’ prestige quite ‘disproportionate’ to their size and status, and were considered by locals to be one of the ‘few genuinely Nigerian publishers’. See Gail Low,*Publishing the Postcolonial* (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), p. 76.

[36]Anna Spry Rush, *Bonds of Empire: West Indians and Britishness from Victoria to Decolonization* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 227.

[37] Low, ‘An Educational Empire of Print’, p.118-9.

[38] Ibid., p.119.

[39] Lamming, *In the Castle of My Skin*, p.58.

[40] Rush, *Bonds of Empire*, 227-8.

[41] Patrick E Bryan, *A History of the Caribbean Examinations Council 1973-2013* (St Michael, Barbados: Caribbean Examination Council, 2015), p. 2.

[42] Bryan, *A History of the Caribbean Examinations Council*, p. 5.

[43] Eric Williams, *Inward Hunger: The Education of a Prime Minister* (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2006), pp. 23,35.

[44] John Figueroa, *Staffing and Examinations in British Caribbean Secondary Schools* (London: Evans Brothers, 1964), pp. 17, 18.

[45] Philip Sherlock and J.H. Parry *A Short History of the West Indies* (London: Macmillan, 1956); Roy Augier, Douglas Hall and Shirley Gordon, *The Making of the West Indies* (London: Longman, 1960); Roy Augier and Shirley Gordon, *Sources of Caribbean History* (London: Longmans, 1962); Anthony Phillips and Kamau Brathwaite *The People who Came: Books 1-3* (Harlow: Longmans, 1968-72).

[46] Kenneth Ramchand,*West Indian Narrative: An Introductory Anthology* (London: Nelson, 1966); GR Coulthard, *Caribbean Literature* (London: University of London, 1966); O R Dathorne *Caribbean Narrative: An Anthology* (London: Heinemann Educational Books,

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[47] Rush, *Bonds of Empire,* p. 220.

[48] Bryan, *A History of the Caribbean Examinations Council,* p. 15.

[49]Mervyn Morris, 'Review', *Caribbean Quarterly* 13(2) (1967), p. 36.

[50] Quoted in Sue Bradley (ed.), *The British Book Trade: An Oral History* (London: British Library, 2010), p. 39.

[51] Anne Walmsley, 'Sam Selvon: Gifts', *Kunapipi* 17(1) (1995), p. 76. Alison Donnell charts some of the critiques and debates over the use of creole languages in literary writing *Twentieth Century Caribbean Literatures* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 21-27.

[52] Walmsley, 'Sam Selvon: Gifts', p. 77

[53] For more on the African Writers Series see, Low *Publishing the Postcolonial* (2011) chapter 3, James Currey *Africa Writes Back: The African Writers Series and the Launch of African Literature* (Oxford: James Currey, 2008); Olabode Ibironke,*Between African Writers and Heinemann Educational Publishers* (Ann Arbour: UMI, 2008).

[54] KS (Keith Sambrook) to AH (Alan Hill), 7/6/1968; 'Memos 1968', HEB Box 171; University of Reading Special Collections.

[55] Hill, *In Pursuit of Publishing,* p.300.

[56] KS to AH, 'Memo: Overseas Editor/Overseas Development' 1966; HEB Box 162.

[57] Gail Low, 'Professing the Commonwealth of Literature, Leeds 1957-1969', *Journal of Commonwealth Literature* 50(3) (2015), pp.267-281.

[58] Richard Rive ed. *Modern African Prose* (London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1964).

[59] HEB had no office in the region at that time and used the Collins representative, Aubrey Gonsalves, as their representative for Jamaican schools, training colleges and University departments. This practice was common practice for firms with no office or representatives in regions they were selling to.

[60] AH to KS, Memo, 9/11/67; HEB General Box 93: Keith Sambrook's Trip to the Caribbean, 1967.

[61] KS to AH, 'Letter no.4: Jamaica', 21/11/67; HEB General Box 93: Keith Sambrook's Trip to the Caribbean, 1967.

[62] See Sambrook's account of this in a letter dated 10/4/69 to Kenneth Ramchand, HEB44/10.

[63] KS to AH, 'Letter no. 5a (i): Jamaica (continued)' ; HEB General Box 93: Keith Sambrook's Trip to the Caribbean, 1967.

[64] KS to AH, 'Letter no. 5a (i): Jamaica (continued)' ; HEB General Box 93: Keith Sambrook's Trip to the Caribbean, 1967.

[65] KS to AH, 'Letter no. 5a: Jamaica report' ; HEB General Box 93: Keith Sambrook's Trip to the Caribbean, 1967.

[66] KS to AH, 'Letter no. 10: Jamaica (Second visit)' ; HEB General Box 93: Keith Sambrook's Trip to the Caribbean, 1967.

[67] KS to AH, 'Letter no. 10: Jamaica (Second visit)' ; HEB General Box 93: Keith Sambrook's Trip to the Caribbean, 1967.

[68] KS to AH, 'Letter no. 10: Jamaica (Second visit)' ; HEB General Box 93: Keith Sambrook's Trip to the Caribbean, 1967.

[69] There is some suggestion of tardiness on Figueroa's part as the reason for his moving over to Longmans.

[70] Tensions between Louis James and Kenneth Ramchand and within the circle of UWI academics represented in the archive can be situated within the debates about the socio-cultural and political direction of Caribbean writing at this time.See Donnell, *Twentieth Century Caribbean Literatures,* pp. 10-76.

[71] No author, 'Caribbean Writers Series', guidelines for writers; HEB 50/7: CWS General Correspondence Files 1976-1982.

[72] No author, 'Caribbean Writers Series', guidelines for writers; HEB 50/7: CWS General Correspondence Files 1976-1982.

[73] Ritzer, *The Globalization of Nothing 2*, p. 38.

[74] In Ritzer's example of the touring show of van Gogh's art, the works themselves will always something but the consumer paraphernalia that surrounds these exhibitions, such as posters, gifts items, postcards, scarves, pens and touristic material using images derived from van Gogh's art 'can move in the direction of nothing'. Ritzer, *The Globalization of Nothing 2*, p.129.

[75]Derek Walcott, *Selected Poetry*, ed. Wayne Brown (London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1981) As late as 1976, James Currey was expressing doubts about publishing poetry in the series (see Currey to Ian Randle, HEB Jamaica, 15.12.76; HEB 50/7: CWS General Correspondence File 1976-82).

[76] Anthony's books were also published simultaneously in HEB's New Windmill Series.

[77] KS to Ian Randle, 2.11.77; HEB 50/7: CWS General Correspondence Files 1976-1982.

[78] See Cambridge International Examinations, 'Our history', http://www.cie.org.uk/about-us/who-we-are/our-history/.

[79] Cambridge English, 'Global recognition', http://www.cambridgeenglish.org/why-cambridge-english/global-recognition/index.aspx?s=1.

[80] Some exceptions include Robert Phillipson, *Linguistic Imperialism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), Alastair Pennycook, *The Cultural Politics of English as an International language* (London and New York: Routledge, 2014) and Howatt and Widdowson, *The History of English Language Teaching* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

[81] Low 'Professing the Commonwealth', pp. 267-281

[82] I have taken this phrase from Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1993).

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